

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0417

FROM AMBASSADOR SCALI

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UN, PFOR

SUBJECT: PREPARATION FOR UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION: FORMULATING  
US POLICY

SUMMARY: UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION ON DEVELOPMENT AND INTER-  
NATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROVIDES MAJOR TEST OF WHETHER NEO-  
TIATION AND COMPROMISE CAN SUPPLANT INCREASING TENDENCY WITHIN UN  
TOWARD CONFRONTATION. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE  
AFFIRMATIVE PROPOSALS AND NOT LEAVE INITIATIVE TO THIRD WORLD.  
PREPARATORY MEETING WILL BEGIN LATER THIS MONTH FOR SESSION TO  
CONVENE SEPTEMBER 1. ESSENTIAL THAT USG STRATEGY BE FORMULATED  
SOONEST TO HAVE MAXIMUM IMPACT. END SUMMARY

1. DURING LAST UNGA WE EMPHASIZED NEED FOR "COMPROMISE AND NEO-  
TIATION" TO REPLACE LDC/NAG CONFRONTATION POLITICS WHICH IGNORE  
INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF DC MINORITY. A MAJOR TEST OF WHETHER  
THIS CAN BE DONE WILL OCCUR DURING UNGA SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION ON  
DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION SEPT 1-12. THIS  
WILL BE PRESIDED OVER BY BOUTEFLIKA. OUR SUCCESS, OR  
FAILURE, TO INSTILL THIS NEW APPROACH IN UN MAY WELL  
BE DETERMINED IN PREPARATORY MEETINGS PRECEDING SPECIAL SESSION.  
TO HAVE MAXIMUM IMPACT WE MUST FORMULATE PROPOSALS WELL IN ADVANCE.  
OTHERWISE WE ARE CERTAIN TO FIND OURSELVES ON DEFENSIVE, WITH FIELD  
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PREEMPTED BY RADICAL LDC/NAG PROPOSALS. DESPITE FACT THAT THESE MEET-

INGS, WHICH BEGIN LATE IN FEBRUARY, PRESENT SERIOUS NEGOTIATING DIFFICULTIES, THEY PROVIDE EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE OUR OWN VIEWS CONCERNING ROLE, ORGANIZATION, AND FUNCTIONING OF UN SYSTEM.

2. FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM FOR US WILL BE EXTENT TO WHICH WE AND OTHER DC'S ARE RECEPTIVE TO CHANGE IN EXISTING SYSTEM, WHETHER THAT CHANGE WILL BE REASONABLE AND ORDERLY, WHAT DIRECTION IT SHOULD TAKE, AND PACE AT WHICH WE ARE WILLING TO SEE IT MOVE. USG SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ASSUME A LEADERSHIP ROLE BY PROPOSING DESIRABLE REFORMS IN UN SYSTEM IN ORDER TO FOCUS DEBATE ON ISSUES AND PROPOSALS OF OUR OWN CHOOSING.

3. GIVEN IMPORTANCE OF TASK AND FACT THAT PREPARATORY STEPS ARE ABOUT TO BEGIN, I URGE IMMEDIATE HIGH LEVEL USG ATTENTION TO THIS PROBLEM. I UNDERSTAND THAT DEPT IS ESTABLISHING TASK FORCE FOR THIS PURPOSE, AND WISH TO PROVIDE MY COMMENTS FOR CONSIDERATION.

4. MEMBERS OF LDC/NAG COALITION CERTAINLY WILL MAKE EARLY AND SUSTAINED EFFORT TO CONTINUE MOMENTUM OF SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION TO RE-AFFIRM NIEO, PROBABLY UNDER MOST MILITANT LEADERSHIP. WE BELIEVE THAT THIRD WORLD WILL BE ABLE TO DEVELOP A COMMON FRONT ON FAMILIAR GENERAL PRINCIPLES SUCH AS: (A) EXISTING ECONOMIC SYSTEM NEEDS SUBSTANTIAL OVERHAUL SINCE IT INADEQUATELY SERVES INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN TRADE, FOOD, RAW MATERIALS, MONETARY, AND RELATED FIELDS; (B) INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IS TOO RESTRICTIVE AND CONSEQUENTLY MUST BE DISCARDED IN FAVOR OF NIEO/CERDS, OR MODIFIED TO ACCOMMODATE THEM; (C) UN SYSTEM MUST BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE VEHICLE TO FULFILL THEIR FELT NEEDS; AND (D) PRESENT UN SYSTEM NEEDS MAJOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES TO GIVE DEVELOPMENT FIRST PRIORITY, AND TO BECOME PRIMARY MECHANISM FOR TRANSFER OF RESOURCES AND TECHNOLOGY.

5. WHILE WE EXPECT THIS TO BE LDC THRUST, SPECIAL SESSION ALSO PROVIDES US WITH OPPORTUNITY FOR FORMULATING REFORMS DESIGNED TO MAKE TOTAL UN DEVELOPMENT MACHINERY MORE EFFECTIVE, EFFICIENT, AND ECONOMICAL. USG CAN SEIZE ON THIS AND MAKE IT AN IMPORTANT TEST OF OUR THESIS THAT UN SHOULD WORK THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE, NOT CONFRONTATION, AND THAT ITS ACTIONS MUST BE PRACTICAL AND REALISTIC WITH MINIMUM OF INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC.

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6. AS USG POLICY IS FORMULATED, I BELIEVE THAT OUR DECISIONS MUST BE TAKEN IN CERTAIN BASIC ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING FUTURE ROLE OF UN AND UN SYSTEM, LOOKING AHEAD AS MUCH AS 10 YEARS, AND BEGIN TO MOVE TOWARD TYPE OF ACTIVITIES WE WANT IT TO PERFORM. BASED ON ANSWERS TO SUCH QUESTIONS, I SUGGEST THAT WE CONCENTRATE ON THREE SEPARATE YET INTERDEPENDENT APPROACHES: (A) REALIGNMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES AMONG VARIOUS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND PROGRAMS WITHIN UN SYSTEM; (B) SYSTEM-WIDE AND INDI-

VIDUAL CHANGES IN MANAGEMENT OF UN AGENCIES; AND (C) IMPROVEMENTS IN DECISION-MAKING THROUGHOUT UN SYSTEM AND ESPECIALLY IN PRINCIPAL UN ORGANS WHERE ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE DEALT WITH. IT IS WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK THAT A USUN WORKING GROUP I HAVE ESTABLISHED IS OPERATING AND FROM WHICH I EXPECT TO MAKE FURTHER INPUTS TO DEPT.

7. OBVIOUSLY, A USG "GAME PLAN", ONCE FORMULATED, WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED IN TOTO BY MANY OF MAJOR PARTICIPANTS. NEVERTHELESS, WE MUST FORMULATE SUCH A PLAN, PLACE IT BEFORE FRIENDLY MEMBERS, AND ACTIVELY WORK FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE WHILE AT SAME TIME RECOGNIZING MAJOR INTEREST OF OTHER, AND BEING FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ADAPT OUR PROPOSALS WHEN NEEDED. CONSULTATIONS MUST BEGIN THIS MONTH FIRST WITH DEVELOPED AND LATER WITH SELECTED LDCS IN ORDER TO LAY ESSENTIAL GROUNDWORK FOR ADVANCING USG VIEWS. WEO'S PARTICULARLY ARE ANXIOUS TO BEGIN IN DEPTH TALKS SOONEST TO COORDINATE POSITIONS. I STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT US MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT, COMPARABLE IN INTENSITY AND SCOPE TO THOSE WE HAVE MADE FOR ESSENTIALLY DEFENSIVE ENDS SUCH AS REDUCING OUR UN ASSESSMENT OR HOLDING LINE ON KHMER AND KOREA. IF WE DO, I BELIEVE WE CAN EXERT POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON ULTIMATE OUTCOME OF UP-COMING UNGA SPECIAL SESSION. AT A BARE MINIMUM, RESULTS ARE LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERABLY LESS OFFENSIVE TO US THAN IF WE FORFEIT LEADERSHIP BY DEFAULT. AT MAXIMUM, WE COULD HAVE FAR-REACHING IMPACT BY BRINGING CONTRUCTIVE REFORMS IN UN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM. TO GIVE ADDED THRUST AND MEANING TO PROPOSED CONSULTATIONS, I RECOMMEND WE FRANKLY SAY PRIVATELY THAT RESULTS OF DISCUSSIONS WILL DETERMINE OUR OVERALL FUTURE ATTITUDE TOWARD UN AND WE HOPE REVERSE EROSION OF PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL CONFIDENCE I SPELLED OUT IN DEC 6 SPEECH TO ASSEMBLY.

8. AS WE CONTINUE DIALOGUE, I WELCOME DEPT'S COMMENT ON IDEAS CONTAINED HEREIN AND SUBSEQUENT MESSAGES.

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